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The Exact Definition and Amplification of the Program  
Resolutions of the Third Extraordinary Great Congress  
of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

Seven years have passed since the Third Extraordinary Great Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists adopted the Program Resolutions and these years have fully established the great achievement which these resolutions represent.\* Subsequent events have confirmed them and have shown how right they were and how fully they correspond to the desires and interests of the Ukrainian nation. Having solved all the political and social problems in the spirit of justice and in the light of the nation's needs, the Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ (Extraordinary Great Congress) of the OUN have made it possible to mobilize, in an organized struggle for the liberation and construction of an independent United Ukrainian State (USSR), the masses of action and to secure political growth and organizational widening of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

At the same time life has proved that the Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN are in need of exact definition and amplification. This is quite understandable and natural. A political organization which is growing and developing must develop its program and has to put all sorts of revisions and corrections so as not to be left behind.

The amplifications of the Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN which were required were the subject of prolonged discussions within the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In August 1949 a conference of the Provid of the OUN in the Ukraine drew up a project of the exact definitions and amplifications of the program, and in June 1950 the Conference of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Ukrainian lands accepted and confirmed the final text of the exact definitions and amplifications of the OUN program.

These new exact definitions and amplifications of the program in no way

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differ from the Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN. They were accepted as being in full agreement with the spirit of these Program Resolutions and they are a further interpretation of these Resolutions.

The exact definitions and amplifications are concerned with the following matters:

a. Political Questions:

The Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN were accepted at the time when the Ukrainian nation and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were fighting stubbornly against the German invaders, when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army began her activities. This moment has found its reflection in the Program Resolutions where, in the preface, it is stated that the OUN fights against the "German new Europe", "against the German National-Socialism", and against "the German invaders".

Today these questions are no more of interest and the OUN Conference in the Ukraine has deleted them from the Program Resolutions, and the preface to the Program has been adjusted to the present conditions.

b. Questions Concerned With the Structure of the State:

At the time when the Third NVZ of the OUN took place the questions concerning the structure of the state were not as urgent as today. The more burning problems then were the political and social ones. This is why the question of the structure of the Independent United Ukrainian State was not sufficiently explained in the Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN. However, the whole underlying spirit of the Program Resolutions makes it clear that the OUN fights for a democratic order in the future Independent United Ukrainian State and there are a number of points in the Program Resolutions, especially Point 10, which definitely lays down the future democratic principles. The new interpretations of the OUN Conference in the Ukraine were formulated with this in view.

The OUN Conference in the Ukraine clearly defined that the OUN fights for a democratic structure of the Independent United Ukrainian State. This Conference has amplified the democratic principles of the future structure of the Independent United Ukrainian State by emphasizing the freedom of political and social organizations.

c. Social Questions:

The solution of the agricultural problem undertaken by the Third NVZ of the OUN has given rise to a conscious or sub-conscious ascribing to the OUN of intentions which have nothing in common with the spirit of its program or with its practical activities. In view of this the OUN Conference in the Ukraine has redrafted that point of the Program Resolutions which deals with agricultural matters. The Conference clearly stated that the OUN fights for the complete destruction of the kolkhoz system in the Ukraine, that it also fights against the return to the landlord system of agriculture, and that it fights for a free distribution of land to the peasants as owners of small one-man working farms. The OUN considers that such a solution will be the best and will bring the greatest advantage to the Ukrainian nation and that such solution corresponds with the wishes of the greatest number of the Ukrainian peasants.

At the same time the OUN recognizes the right for communal - cooperative type farming and to other forms of agriculture provided that they are built on a voluntary agreement of the peasants and on the basis of their

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own work.

The Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN were drawn up in conditions of intensive underground struggle and it is understandable that there were many oversights, namely: nothing was said about mineral rights, ownership of forests, water, transport, and banks. However, the Program Resolutions do not leave any doubt that all these branches of the economy must be either owned by the State or by the community. The interpretation of the OUN Conference in the Ukraine is made in this spirit and suitable amplifications were made in the Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN.

d. Cultural and Educational Matters:

The OUN Conference in the Ukraine amplified point 7(a) of the Program Resolutions by a statement that education in the Independent United Ukrainian State will be free of charge. These are the main definitions and amplifications of the Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN which were adopted by the OUN Conference in the Ukraine which took place in June 1950. The new text of the exact definition and amplifications of the Program Resolutions of the Third NVZ of the OUN is given below.

Resolutions of the Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists  
in the Ukrainian Lands Concerning the exact Definition  
and Amplifications of the Program Resolutions of the OUN  
Adopted by the Third Extraordinary Great Congress in  
August 1943

1. In paragraph 2 of the preface to the Program Resolutions delete the words: "against the German New Europe". The whole paragraph should read: "The OUN fights against imperialists and empires because within them one reigning nation enslaves culturally and politically and exploits economically other nations; hence the OUN fights against the USSR." 1/
2. In paragraph 3 of the same preface delete the words: "and against the German National-Socialism". The paragraph should read: "The OUN, with firm determination, fights against internationalists and Fascist-National-Socialist programs and political concepts, as they are instruments in the hands of an aggressive imperialist policy. Therefore, we fight against the Russian Communist-Bolshevism." 2/
3. In paragraph 4 of the same preface delete the words: "and German". The whole paragraph should read: "The OUN is against the nations which, in pursuance of imperialist aims, 'liberates', 'places under protection', or 'defends' other nations because behind these innocent words there is a disgraceful meaning of enslavement, violence, and robbery. Therefore, the OUN fights against Russian-Bolshevik plunderers until they purge the Ukraine of all 'protectors' and 'liberators', until they will achieve their aim - an Independent United Ukrainian State in which the peasant, the worker, and the member of the intelligentsia will be able to live a free, prosperous, and cultural life." 3/
4. In paragraph 5 of the same preface delete the words "and German" and replace the word "commissars" by "dignitaries". The whole paragraph should read:

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"The OUN fights for a full liberation of the Ukrainian nation from the Russian-Bolshevik yoke, and for the building of an Independent United Ukrainian State without landlords and capitalists and without Bolshevik dignitaries, members of the NKVD, and Party parasites." 4/

5. In paragraph 6 of the same preface, in the context "....and will concentrate the entire human energy on building a new national order and a just social structure..." the word "new" shall be replaced by the word "democratic". 5/
6. In paragraph 7 of the same preface, in the context "....for a new national order" the word "new" shall be replaced by the word "democratic" and in the context ".....new social order", the word "new" shall be replaced by the word "just". The whole paragraph should read: "In the ranks of the OUN there are to be found peasants, workers, and intelligentsia all fighting against the plunderer for an Independent United Ukrainian State, for national and social liberation, for democratic state order, and for a just social structure". 6/
7. Point 1, subparagraph (a) should read: 7/
  - 1.(a) For a total destruction of the Bolshevik kolkhoz system of exploitation and serfdom in the organization of agriculture and against the return to the landlord-capitalist system;
  - 1.(b) Observing the rule that the land belongs to the nation as the sole owner, for a free-of-charge distribution of land to the peasants as owners of small working farms, for limiting by law the minimum and maximum extent of such farms, and for prohibition to trade or speculate in land;
  - 1.(c) For the right to organize communal-cooperatives, associations, or other forms of agricultural economy, which would solely depend on the wishes of the peasants;
  - 1.(d) For general technical, agricultural, and financial assistance rendered by the State to agriculture."
8. As Point 2 insert the following:
 

"2. That all underground mineral riches, forests, and waters should become national state or communal property". Change accordingly the numbers of all following paragraphs of the Program.
9. Point 2, subparagraph (a) should read:
 

"3.(a) That all major industry and transport (railway, water, and air), should become national-state property and that small industry should become communal cooperative property". 8/
10. Point 5 should read:
 

"6. That the banking system and wholesale trade should be national state property and that retail trade should be in the hands of communal - cooperatives or private individuals". 9/
11. Point 7, subparagraph (a) should read:
 

"8.(a) For free education and for a compulsory secondary education. For lifting the educational and cultural level of the national masses by developing a network of schools, publications, libraries, museums, cinemas, theaters, etc....". 10/
12. In point 10 (of the old Program) insert the following paragraph as letter (b):

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"(b) For freedom of political and communal organizations". Change accordingly the indicators of the paragraphs.

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Provid of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Ukrainian lands.

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